The Rothbard-Rockwell Report
TRIPLE R

First Blood

Llewellyn H. Rockwell, Jr.

The power elite has discovered and targeted the enemy in its midst. He is Ron Paul, the greatest political voice for liberty of our time. And it didn't take long for the government-media-liberal empire to strike out at him in a vicious campaign to destroy his rising influence in Congress and among the American people.

The precipitating factor in the attack was a February 26 interview with Ron on C-SPAN's "Washington Journal." Calmly and brilliantly, Ron presented his view of the current crisis. He pointed out how many of our liberties have been stolen by the federal government.

He proceeded to decry not just the policies of big government, but its very existence; not just the current administration, but the whole regime, including the Fed and the permanent bureaucracy; not just the manner of foreign intervention, but the whole of the American empire; and not just particular episodes of government abuse, but the whole apparatus of federal tyranny.

For viewers it was a wonderful thing to behold. Here was an actual sitting Congressmen being honest and forthright about the present state of affairs. He wasn't hem-hawing around to stay within the approved boundaries of politically correct speech. He wasn't trying to defend the rotten Republican leadership or engaging in political maneuvering.

He was explaining the current state of affairs, discussing trends and events exactly the way *normal* people do every day in their homes, but with this difference. He put it in an overall framework of the central evil of our time: the overweening power and arrogance of the central state. And he did it with his trademark, matter-of-fact delivery.

A main issue he addressed was the decline of our civil liberties at the hands of the federal police. After discussing how we're not even allowed to buy plane tickets with cash, he went to the heart of the matter: the FBI and the BATF. He brought up the biggest recent human rights violation of all: the Waco massacre, in which the feds caused a religious community of 81 members, including children, to be burned to the ground without cause. Moreover, far from apologizing for this outrage, the government put the survivors on trial and threw some in prison.

This Waco event, more than any other in our time, tells us the truth about the nature of the regime. It also tells us who the enemy is. It is obvious that no other institution in society could have pulled off a crime of this magnitude, and succeeded in putting the surviving victims on trial. Not in the always-hated business sector, not in the demonized militia movement, and not in a cabal of mythic racist organizations. It is the government, above all else, that is the public enemy. All the rest is distraction.

In the interview, Ron pointed out that the Waco event caused many Americans to live in fear of federal power and realize the peculiar nature of government itself. Then he uttered the sentences that caused the media-wide hysteria: "I fear and there are a lot of people who fear that they may be bombed by the federal government at another Waco.... I mean, these people committed no crimes."

continued on page 6

INSIDE

Intelligence Briefing 2

Picking Friends 9
PAUL GOTTFRIED

Why Liberals Went Bananas Over Ebonics 11
MICHAEL LEVIN

The Return of the China Lobby..... 13
JUSTIN RAIMONDO

Waco—The Rules of Engagement... 14
REVIEWED BY BURTON S. BLUMERT

Neocon National Socialism 15
LLEWELLYN H. ROCKWELL, JR.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

INTELLIGENCE BRIEFING

✦ **The general indignation at Clinton's crookery (where have these people been?)** was increased by the fact that he was renting out the "Lincoln Bedroom." But that's a scam too, albeit Harry Truman's. Lincoln never slept there, although the Dictator's autopsy did take place in the room.

✦ **The government doesn't know how TWA 800 blew up.** But it's positive it wasn't the government's fault. Darn positive. But why, then, are pilots who have different accounts of the incident under federal gag orders? Why the hate campaign against anyone who would offer a theory of his own, no matter how well documented? Why invade the home of former United Airlines pilot Richard Russell to confiscate his tape of a radar blip headed for the plane at 1,500 mph? Why attempt to prosecute with the full force of the law a man who has a tiny piece of seat fabric from the airplane, and who had it tested independently, showing chemical residues "consistent with solid missile fuel"? Why the Stalinesque attempt to portray Pierre Salinger, until yesterday a respected liberal journalist and former press secretary to John F. Kennedy, as a candidate for a padded cell? It's an understatement to say that this has all the earmarks of a coverup.

✦ **And speaking of coverups,** a crime-scene photograph taken at Fort Marcy Park by a park policeman of the body of Vincent Foster clearly shows a gunshot wound in his neck. It "appears to prove that federal authorities have lied about the case and perpetrated a coverup that continues to deceive the Foster family, the U.S. Congress, and the American people," points out the London *Sunday Telegraph* (March 2, 1997). This is one of the few photos taken by park policemen to survive. All the rest have "disappeared," along with the autopsy x-rays, according to the government. But eyewitness testimony by the paramedics called to the scene confirm the gunshot wound. This surviving photo was distorted by the FBI labs to hide the wound, but then the original was processed outside FBI control at the Smithsonian Institution by Michael Rodriguez, a prosecutor in the Starr investigation, who shortly after was forced out. Members of America's free press have seen the wound photo, proof that there was no suicide, but none will report it.

✦ **"Women's brains shrink in pregnancy,"** ran one of the most controversial headlines in the history of the London *Times* (Jan. 9, 1997). But maybe the news wasn't all bad: "Women who claim to be losing their minds during pregnancy can take some comfort from new scientific evidence for the phenomenon, which suggests that they can expect the full return of their faculties soon after giving birth. Researchers have found that the brain shrinks during the late stages of pregnancy and takes up to six months to regain its full size. It may explain why many pregnant women complain of memory lapses and difficulties in concentrating." Next for the research team from the Royal Postgraduate Medical School in London, which ran the study using three-dimensional images of the brains of pregnant women, "scanning the brains of women during menstruation to see if there were any changes in size," and "scanning the brains of men and women after a couple of glasses of wine to see whether suspected changes in size could be detected."

✦ **It's all good news from Washington.** Al Gore's disastrous press conference–stumbling, defensive, confused–has the *New York Times* admitting that he is no longer the sole contender for the 2000 nomination. Just having this scoundrel knocked down a peg or two makes the day seem sunny and bright. On the Republican side, the neocons have seized on Newt Gingrich, with the *Weekly Standard* and the *New Republic* saying he's a deranged liberal who is barely holding on to power, even as Don Feder continues his hate-filled columns against Jack Kemp. In the future, will mainstream news get all their opinions from the *Triple R*?

✦ **Vice President Gore is a pantheist,** many have long suspected. But now we have proof. At the "Earth Mass" at the Episcopal Cathedral of St. John the Divine in New York, Gore spoke in a room filled with bees, dogs, cats, parakeets, plants, plus a camel and elephant. "Jesus told us that the Kingdom of God is within. And if God is within us, is

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

God not also within other living things? Is God not also in the rest of Creation? We are not separate from the earth. God is not separate from the earth." Where's the Inquisition when we need it? (Mark Tooley, *Washington Times*, Feb. 25, 1997).

✦ **Watching the goings-on at the Conservative Political Action Conference**, you'd think the Clinton administration didn't exist. Gingrich blasted those who say he's a sell-out; Ralph Reed blasted Gingrich for "muddle-headed moderation" (as versus Reed's own muddle-headed liberalism?); Reed and Bennett blasted Kemp, Gingrich, and Jude Wanniski for reaching out to Jesse Jackson and Louis Farakhan; oh, and Kemp mildly criticized Clinton–for the first time in his life (*Washington Times*, March 7, 1997).

✦ **Gingrich is reportedly demoralized** and unable to function as speaker since his embarrassing admission of having violated ethics rules of the House. But that didn't prevent him from mouthing his usual inanities at C-PAC. Under pressure, he criticized quotas but browbeat the audience about the glories of "affirmative outreach" to "every child of every background in every neighborhood." "It is not enough to say that government intervention is bad...any conservative whose heart beats a little bit when they see young children say the Pledge of Allegiance to the flag has an obligation to care about the other 23 hours and 59 minutes of that child's day" (*Washington Times*, March 7, 1997).

✦ **Loosey goosey definitions** allow groups that monitor "hate" to claim as much or as little as they want there to be. One day a local anti-tax group is a civic organization. The next its web page is linked into the wrong corner of the net, and it is defined as a radical right-wing hate group, the kind that...well you know the rest. Nonetheless, one group, which has a stricter-than-most definition of this stuff, itself counts 858 "extremist groups in the U.S." (no, we're not on the list), of which 380 are characterized as militias (*New York Times*, March 5, 1997).

✦ **Outsiders should not presume to tell Romania** what form of government they should adopt after the fall of Ceausescu's bloody communist regime. But after seven years, mass democracy hasn't done the work it was supposed to. The answer? Restore the monarchy! King Michael has returned as a private citizen, 50 years after his exile. He's easily the most respected citizen, and except for the hard-shell communists, is beloved of all his countrymen. He offers hope for a bright future. Down with democracy and up with true liberty!

✦ **Soul-searching Democrats**, stung by accusations that the party's fund-raising techniques are corrupt to the core, have decided to reform the system on their own. Among the new rules adopted to prevent the system from being corrupted by the evil mix of special interests and government: no fund-raising event "may be held on the premises of a religious institution" (*Washington Times*, March 1, 1997).

✦ **Where are you most likely to see young teens smoking cigarettes?** Not in tobacco ads. Not on the streets (at least in most of America). The likeliest place is in the daily editions of America's largest newspapers. The rotten source is the "Campaign for Tobacco-Free Kids," which runs full-page ads featuring children taking a drag. The pretense for this outrage is to shock adults, but the reality is that it works as taboo-breaking advertisement for teen smoking. Imagine if the tobacco industry showed such pictures in its ads, even if the ads said "Don't Do This." There would be nationwide outrage, but somehow statist groups are exempt from rational criticism.

✦ **How do new immigrants vote?** Put the question to a neocon, and they'll say they are natural Republicans, because immigrants love family values, hard work, religious faith, etc. Oh sure. The Democrats at least don't harbor this insane illusion. Their Citizenship USA campaign of 1995-96 gave citizenship to 72,000 known criminals last year to boost the Democratic voter base to which they naturally belong. It's only Republicans that have illusions about the real upshot of American ethnic and immigrant politics.

✦ **Nature versus nurture**? The usual answer is nurture, but what happened to this conventional wisdom during the cloning debate? The media assumption is that a cloned human is an exact copy. If you clone Mother Theresa, the world's poor would be forever cared for. Clone Hitler, and its the Boys from Brazil. How different from the usual liberal view that genes have absolutely nothing to do with our behavior.

✦ **Throw away those antibiotics**, at least for treating anything but the most extreme illnesses. That's the conclusion of a study from the University of Southampton, published in the *British Medical Journal*. A trial of 716 people with sore throats found hot honey and lemon drinks to be a more effective treatment. Those who took antibiotics were more likely to have relapses, since these drugs alter the bacteria in the throat and limit the development of natural immunities.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

✦ **Same goes for acute sinusitis,** say researchers at St. Elizabeth's Hospital in Tilburg, Netherlands, reports *The Lancet.* They compared two groups whose sinusitis was confirmed by x-ray and found no difference in the rate of recovery or the number of relapses between those taking antibiotics and those not (*London Times*, March 7, 1997). Sinusitis sufferers say the key to breaking up clogged sinuses is a fresh cut garlic clove, applied directly in the nasal passages.

✦ **If you drive a golf cart** around a residential neighborhood, no matter how secluded and homogeneous, the federal government wants to regulate you. If you go over 15 MPH, the feds say, your cart becomes a "car," and must have headlights, turn signals, taillights, reflectors, mirrors, parking brakes, a windshield, and seat belts. That of course would vastly increase their price. What's to say but, this ain't the government's business! (*Washington Times*, March 2, 1997)

✦ **Expanding Nafta to Chile** is on the agenda for late this year and next, and the backers will be the usual crowd of statists masquerading as free traders. To prepare for the big push, the White House held a dinner for Chilean President Eduardo Frei. The guest book included all the main players, whose opinions on the pact are now thoroughly compromised: Bill Archer (R-TX), C. Fred Bergsten (Institute of International Economics), Paul Coverdell (R-GA), Joseph Biden (D-DE), Chris Dodd (D-CN), Bob Graham (D-FL), Jesse Helms (R-NC), Jim Kolbe (R-AZ), Trent Lott (R-MS), Charles Rangel (D-NY), Stephen Rosenfeld (*Washington Post*), David Lawrence (*Miami Herald*), Arturo Valenzuela (Georgetown University), and S. Robson Walton (Wall-Mart).

✦ **Such an innocuous name for a deeply menacing bill.** But the Religious Freedom Restoration Act (RFRA) was supported by both parties and all sides of the spectrum. It allows the federal government to override local zoning restrictions on behalf of any religious group claiming to be discriminated against. The danger here is immense. Fully enforced, it would wipe out one of the few areas of local jurisdiction that remain. If federalism was meant to prohibit anything at all, it would be this type of big-government legislation.

✦ **In a case growing out of a Texas dispute, the Supreme court may just declare this law unconstitutional,** so the liberals are panicked. If the "freedom of religion" and the "takings" clauses don't apply to the states, and they don't, many other types of states rights violations could be tossed overboard as well. That includes civil rights, labor legislation, and (gasp!) every other form of regulatory ruling that overrides local control. It's one example among many of how the inner-contradictions of leviathan are coming to a head (*Washington Times*, March 3, 1997).

✦ **The stock market may be *so* exuberant** that not even the Fed chairman can talk it down. The market barely hiccuped after his February 26 testimony further warning of excessive optimism on Wall Street. How odd it is, however, to hear Greenspan say something sensible: that financial markets can indeed go down, though investors seem to have forgotten about the possibility; that all investment is risky business, and that it's good to keep an eye on risk as well as return. Then again, who's he to talk? He's the guy who established the tradition of bailing out every major bear market since he took the helm. It's true: Fed bailouts and financial guarantees tend to encourage excessive risk taking. Among savvy economists, he won't be able to escape blame for the coming financial crisis.

✦ **The old saw says democracies are not warlike.** Of course that's an empirical question whose answer depends on a more fundamental question: who is the aggressor nation in a particular conflict. The people who spout the old saw see the U.S. government as blameless in every case. Gary Bass of *The Economist* has an additional take on the phrase. It is used by heads of state to threaten their neighbors, as in, democratize or we'll invade you. His example is Haiti, which Clinton invaded to "restore" its "democracy" on grounds that "democracies don't attack each other" (*New York Times*, March 8, 1997).

✦ **"Did the FBI Shoot in Cold Blood at Waco?"** That's the way the headline in the London *Sunday Telegraph* read. The heroic reporter Ambrose Evans-Pritchard reports from San Francisco where the blockbuster new movie *Waco: The Rules of Engagement* is being shown. (See Burt Blumert's review in this issue.) "If a member of the FBI had dared to show his face at the Roxie Arts Cinema in San Francisco last week, he would have been tarred and feathered by the audience." He reports that one man in the audience said "there'd be a revolution" if this film gets wide showing.

✦ **"Let's Fight The Civil War All Over Again,"** read the headline in the *Weekly World News* (February 25, 1997), a publication with its finger on the pulse of the nation. Writes "Ed Anger": "Gov. David Beasley, rumored to be the great-great-grandson of a

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Yankee spy who lived in Charleston, is heading up a sneaky plot to furl the Stars and Bars forever just because it upsets all those uppity Yankee carpet-baggers who've invaded the South in the last few years. Well, they'll banish our beloved Confederate Flag over my dead body, by God! In fact, I'm firmly convinced that we ought to fight the Civil War one more time just to settle this thing once and for all."

✦ **Hurrah for Alabama's Governor Fob James** for sticking up for states rights and the Ten Commandments. Judge Roy Moore refuses to take them down from his courtroom regardless of what the ACLU says. The reason isn't that anyone is trying to impose an officially Jewish or Christian system of law, as the ACLU claims the judge is doing. It's because the Ten Commandments represent a rebuke to the idea of legal positivism: the tyrannical notion that law is what judges say it is. By embracing the Ten Commandments, Judge Moore is saying he is not a dictator but rather an administrator ultimately responsible to a higher law, a higher *morality*, than any court, government, or other earthly power. In this assertion lies the foundation for liberty.

✦ **Smart and good-looking** are personal traits that are genetically linked, reports *The Times* of London (February 16, 1997). "Pretty women and handsome men...are more likely to have higher IQs." This is the result of two separate studies, both done by biologist Randy Thornhill of the University of New Mexico, released at the annual meetings of the American Association for the Advancement of Science (and not exactly publicized in this country).

✦ **Please don't take my power away,** pleaded Alan Greenspan in a speech about Congress's oversight of the Fed. He warned that without the Fed, a financial blip on the screen could turn into a full-scale crisis. "There have been occasions when we have been on the edge of a significant breakout," he said, declining to elaborate. "I would be chagrined to see some of these powers disappear," adding contradictorily, "I say that as someone who believes the less you interfere in the market, the better." Hardly surprising, except that it's a peek into what Greenspan really fears. He hasn't had a good night's sleep since 1995, when Murray Rothbard's *Case Against the Fed* appeared (*Washington Times*, Feb. 22, 1997).

✦ **Conventional Wisdom Watch** keeps our heads spinning. Last month, respectable financial opinion said the stock market is overvalued. This month we've watched the return of the most naive form of New Era thinking seen in 70 years. The business cycle has ended! Onward and upward forever and ever! So say the opinion elite about the financial markets. Even James Glassman, the smart-set pundit at the *Washington Post*, has been taken in. The always level-headed James Grant calls this the "Universal Optimism Syndrome."

✦ ***Grant's Interest Rate Observer* has some specific recommendations on bonds.** He notes the "fall from favor of fixed-income securities during the great bull market. Probably, we think, bonds–investment-grade bonds in particular–will return to favor on the day when stocks fall out of it. This makes us bullish on bonds not because we are sure that interest rates are going to fall (we have no idea), but because we think that investment income will be in relatively short supply. Anyway, we believe, term trusts and closed-end municipal bond funds offer value in relation to other bonds and to many stocks." In particular, Grant likes Municipal Advantage Fund (MAF). Dog Alert: Green Tree Financial, king of the mobile-home lenders (*Grant's Interest Rate Observer*, $610 p.a., 30 Wall Street, NY, NY 10005).

✦ **The racial aspects of the Army sex scandals** are old hat to *Triple R* readers (black drill sergeants, white recruits), but now that fact is being used as a reason not to pursue charges. The NAACP–surprise! –calls the inquiry "racist," and the creepy William Cohen seems to agree. The white girls who claimed they had been pressured into charges of rape now–at NAACP behest–say the sex was consensual. But this is nonsense. Not only is such "fraternization" a serious offense in the military, when a man has that much power over a girl's life and livelihood–and these are teenagers, for the most part–sex cannot be voluntary. If we can talk about date rape, we can certainly condemn boot-camp rape. Note: the Army is an institution where blacks have vast power over whites, even aside from male-female questions. It is therefore a miracle that these charges emerged at all.

✦ **Congressman Ron Paul's "Freedom Watch Update" is free.** To subscribe to the fax version, phone 202-225-2831. To get the e-mail version, write: freedom.watch@mail.house.gov and put "subscribe FWU" in the subject line.

✦ **Ron has a toll-free hotline too:** phone 1-888-322-1414 to hear his weekly legislative up-date. RRR

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FIRST BLOOD cont. from page 1

The Attack Begins

It was a stellar performance, and a huge hit among regular viewers. They've never seen a politician talk in such a searingly honest way about current affairs. That's precisely why the power elite fears him. In his own quiet and principled way, Ron is capable of rousing the masses to anger merely by being one of the few figures in public life capable of telling, and *explaining*, the truth.

Yet, as we know, it is now considered to be a hate crime not to love the government. You can criticize this or that policy, but it's taboo, a thought and speech crime, to regard the government as a threat or an enemy. So it was inevitable that Ron, just by stating home truths, was headed for trouble the minute he was reelected to the House. The C-SPAN interview provided a convenient chance to draw the first blood.

A press release from the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee, which has targeted him, featured Ron's comments under the headline, "They're Back...While GOP leaders struggle for an agenda, the House Republicans' right-wing extremists take center stage."

Appointed to be the first Democrat out of the gate was Chet Edwards, the Congressman whose district includes Waco, Texas. (Strangely the Associated Press described him as "D-Waco.") No one knows precisely who designated him the front man, but there can be no question he was speaking on behalf of interest groups much more powerful than the Congressional Democrats, all of which have sworn to get rid of Ron.

Edwards chose the highest profile venue he could: the House floor, to denounce Ron. "It is astounding to me that a member...of this Congress would say publicly that he fears being bombed by the federal government." Is he then suggesting that they are only supposed to say this kind of thing privately?

Continuing: "My fear is that that kind of statement by a public official of this Congress simply expands the hysterical paranoia of those around this country who might be hiding in their closets thinking that the federal government is somehow going to bomb them in the sanctity of their private homes."

Isn't it also important to *discourage* the kind of government hate that led to Waco?

We all know how stupid that would be. Are they supposed to come out of their closets so the government can get a better aim? And why should the poor souls in the closet be blamed for fearing a government that attacks its own citizens?

Continuing: "I think that is sheer lunacy at best, and at worst, it can engender the kind of hatred toward our federal government that leads to tragedies such as that we all sadly witnessed in Oklahoma City."

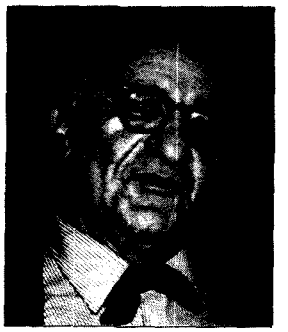
Of course, the words "Oklahoma" and "tragedy" are supposed to go together, but not "Waco" and "tragedy." Why isn't Edwards encouraging more Wacos with his dismissal of Ron's concerns?

Finally, Edwards finished his diatribe with this flourish: "A member of Congress making that kind of extremist statement simply encourages the kind of radical hatred that leads to Oklahoma City."

But isn't it also important to *discourage* the kind of government hate that led to Waco? Why shouldn't we discourage the kind of hate that leads Edwards to accuse Paul of encouraging more Oklahoma bombings? Do politicians take an oath never to denounce the government? We know that's what liberals want, but it is surprising to hear this actually stated.

In the course of his speech, Edwards said it is absurd to suggest that the Branch Davidians committed no crimes. He said that they shot up federal agents and that David Koresh raped a 10-year-old girl, the one who testified two years ago in the House when she was 14. Finally, the Davidians set fire to their own home. "I would suggest that rape,

Dean of the Austrian School of economics, founder of modern libertarianism, and restorer of the Old Right, Murray N. Rothbard (1926–1995) was a one-man army of liberty. The *Triple R* is inspired by his spirit, and dedicated to his vision.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

arson, and murder are crimes in the book of every American family, if it's not a crime in Mr. Paul's book."

Now as everyone knows who's kept up with this case, no Davidian was convicted of any crime before the federal attack. Koresh himself had been arrested years earlier, but was found innocent on weapons charges.

Janet Reno's claims of child abuse in the compound have been refuted many times over. The 14-year-old girl's testimony before Congress, reports Ambrose Evans-Pritchard in the London *Sunday Times*, was a hoax; her mother claims that these accusations grew out of a child custody dispute. She wasn't even living with Koresh at the time she says she was abused.

As for the fire, there is no evidence that the Davidians set fire to their own building. The choices are between a deliberate fire set by the feds (there's much evidence for that) and an accidental fire triggered by the feds. After all, the building went up in flames as military tanks rammed through the walls.

Triple R (ISSN 1080-4420) is published monthly by the Center for Libertarian Studies, 875 Mahler Rd., Suite 150, Burlingame, CA 94010. (800) 325-7257. Periodicals Postage paid at Burlingame, CA, and additional mailing offices. Postmasters: Send address changes to *Triple R*, P.O. Box 4091, Burlingame, CA 94011. *Editor*: Llewellyn H. Rockwell, Jr. *Contributing Editors*: David Gordon, Paul Gottfried, Hans-Hermann Hoppe, Michael Levin, Justin Raimondo, and Jeffrey Tucker. *Publisher*: Burton S. Blumert. *Managing Editor*: Sybil Regan. Subscription: $49 for 12 issues. Single issue: $5. Copyright © 1997 by the Center for Libertarian Studies. All rights reserved. Unauthorized reproduction of this newsletter or its contents by xerography, facsimile, or any other means is illegal.

Even leaving all this aside, Ron's point still stands. Let's say the children were being abused. Should they thereby be gassed and burned by the government? And let's say Koresh violated federal weapons charges. Then peacefully serve him with a warrant and let the jury decide. (As local police had done in the past.)

As for the supposed "murder" of government agents, these jack-booted government thugs were invading these people's home without a warrant, and shooting into their windows. And they made a PR-driven decision to invade rather than serve the warrant on Koresh during his daily jog. Above all, there's the federalist point: if government was to be involved at all, it was a matter for state and local authorities.

No Davidian was convicted of any crime before the federal attack.

The Republican "Response"

As Edwards was speaking, Ron sat calmly listening to every word. Majority whip Tom Delay, also of Texas, flew into a panic the moment Edwards finished. He rose to the House floor, not to defend Ron's remarks, but to make a point of etiquette. Edwards should have had the courtesy to tell Ron in advance that he would be attacking him. Moreover, "I do not ever remember in the 12 years I have been in the House that a Member from Texas attacked a Member from Texas from the well of the House."

This strange comment is based on the supposed need for bipartisan cooperation within a state–in order to more efficiently haul the pork back home. The three met afterwards and attempted to iron out their differences, but to little avail. They agreed to disagree, while the Republicans shook their heads in wonder at why Ron should care so much about this issue.

The Media Pile On

The media went nuts. The next edition of *Roll Call*, the Capitol Hill newspaper, featured the headline, "Ron Paul's Bomb Scare: Texas Explodes Over Remark by the Libertarian-Turned-Republican." Implying it was Ron who threw the first punch, the article began, "Who was the first House Member of the 105th Congress to get into a nasty, personal spat with a colleague from his own state? To no one's surprise, it was Texas Rep. Ron Paul (R), whose libertarian views and loose tongue have made him no stranger to controversy."

The *Houston Chronicle* was next. Said the news story: "Ron Paul is viewed as a loose cannon by some of his Republican colleagues in the House." By the way, "loose cannons" are the kind that direct their aim inside the Beltway instead of at the people. An accompanying editorial went all out, saying Ron "has embarrassed himself, his constituents, and the state of Texas." And why? Because Ron doesn't "remember the facts" of this case, among which are that the Davidians "set fire to their own building." So much for journalistic standards. Also the editorial embraces this "Congressmen-don't-criticize-government" position of other media types. "If the congressman really fears he will be bombed by federal agents he should leave Washington."

Next came the *Austin American-Statesmen*, which compare Ron to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Congressman John Coburn of Oklahoma, widely rebuked for not realizing that full frontal nudity, raw sex scenes, and bloody violence on television during prime time are just great if the movie is produced by Steven Spielberg. Both have "sullied themselves with recent remarks," said the newspaper. But unlike Coburn, Ron won't apologize. "He's made of stranger stuff. He may actually believe he is targeted for a bombing by federal agents."

Now, let's be clear on this. Ron never said he feared being bombed. As is clear from the context of the remarks, he said he feared that government may bring about another Waco, and many Americans fear the same. Before the hysteria and lies began, the *Dallas Morning News* got it right: "Texas Congressman says he fears 'another Waco.'"

Like similar campaigns conducted against other political and intellectual dissidents, this campaign might as well be designed to strengthen Ron and his cause. Better than any in memory, this episode has highlighted just how far removed the media and political elite are from the values of the average American, who feels himself deeply and increasingly alienated from the leaders, policies, and ideologies of the ruling regime.

What Americans *Really* Think

For even as the media were going nuts, happy to serve as governments tools in the disinformation campaign, Ron's e-mail box in Congress and his regular mail were overflowing. Here are just a few of the hundreds of comments:

"Don't let the bastards get you down. For every one criticizing you in the media there are a hundred like me applauding in private. The only way you lose is if you back away from the truth."

"You are a great spokesman for freedom."

"You represent what a lot of us believe. Hang in."

"I can't begin to tell you how encouraging it is to turn on C-SPAN and hear someone who really understands what is going on in America.... We applaud you again. I offer my services as a volunteer should you need them."

"I saw you today on C-SPAN and thought you were great! I loved your answers and they were right on! I am a registered Democrat but voted for Perot last time. I'd go for you and your ideas in a minute! Keep up the good work."

"If all of our representatives and senators had your views this country would be in great shape. I have never encountered a straight person like you. Wonderful. If I would live in the 14th district I would beg you to let me campaign for you for your reelection. You are a jewel in the U.S. crown. You have shown me that there is still hope for the people."

"I wish every American could have seen you on C-SPAN. You're absolutely correct about Government being too large. When I think about it, virtually all the serious internal problems our country faces would be lessened or would disappear if we were able to dramatically downsize our Government."

"You're a great reason to have cloning! I wish you were cloned repeatedly in the House. Thank you for your obvious honesty and candor. It's refreshing to have a politician talk publicly as an adult to other adults...."

"Today I read in the *Houston Chronicle* about Chet Edwards lambasting you for your remark.... Hey, that's right—get rid of anyone who even QUESTIONS big brother. Keep up the good work, Ron. There are many Americans who share your fears."

"Thank you for shining the light of truth into the political arena.... Not only is our mistrust well placed with the FBI and BATF, but also with your cohorts in the House, as Rep. Edwards shows."

And so on it goes for the stacks and stacks of mail his appearance and the ensuing media hate campaign inspired. His office reports that it did not receive one negative comment. Hurrah for the masses! Their instincts on this are far sounder than those of the ruling elite, who in our day attempt to crush even the slightest dissent. Of course, Ron will not back down, but will continue to fight even as the attacks escalate, as they inevitably will.

Hurrah for the masses! Their instincts on this are far sounder than those of the ruling elite.

Waco, The Movie

One month before the *Austin American-Statesmen* said Ron "dishonored" the Congress by stating what everybody knows, the paper's style pages had reviewed a stunning new movie on Waco, previewed at the Sundance Film Festival and now being shown in San Francisco's Roxie Theater. The film is called *Waco: The Rules of Engagement* and it proves that no matter how badly you think the government behaved in the standoff, the truth is much worse.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The film, said the *Austin American-Statesman*, is "the most powerful film to be shown yet at Sundance.... This harrowing tale of the siege at the Branch Davidian compound and its tragic end unearths shattering evidence of hidden agendas, dishonesty, religious persecution, and fatal culpability on the part of the U.S. government." In all, the paper wrote, it is a "breathtaking indictment of the U.S. government."

Director William Gazecki has put together powerful new footage taken by a variety of sources. He interviewed everybody who would talk, but who the media ignored. Said the Sheriff of Waco, Jack Harwell, "They were all good people. I was around them quite a lot. They were always nice, mannerly people. They minded their own business. I liked them." (How about that, Chet?)

Gazecki also makes use of home movies taken by the Davidians themselves, which have never been shown on television because they show Koresh as a charming, warm, and intelligent man. But the key information came from footage taken by an FBI surveillance camera hardly anyone (other than the government and the large media outlets) knew existed.

It used a technique called "Forward Looking Infra-Red" or FLIR. It measures heat, not light, so it is able to answer the persistent questions about who started the fire. It shows that the fire was started by the FBI firing incendiary grenades into the building after filling it with flammable CS gas. It shows that the FBI maneuvered to keep all this away from view by attacking the back of the building. The film also shows FBI agents standing at the exits with machine guns and firing.

Thanks to this film, Waco will be remembered for what it truly was: a genocidal act by the U.S. government.

The Branch Davidian lawyers say they have attempted to make all this available to media outlets for a long time, but to no available. The Congressional committee "investigating" Waco also had access to this material, but never used it. The film shows that episode to be a parade of perjurers and political grandstanders.

Running three hours, the film shows much more, but reportedly never gets boring. At Sundance, reported the *Austin American-Statesman*, a hushed crowd never stirred or even coughed during the very long screening.

When the American history of the last quarter of this century is written, the Waco event will be central to it. And thanks to this film, it may be remembered for what it truly was: a genocidal act by the U.S. government that was then covered up at the highest levels, with the active cooperation of the media.

What statesman dared to speak out? Who was principled enough to decry this human rights crime while everyone else in public life remained silent and fearful? As *Roll Call* might put it, "to no one's surprise, it was Ron Paul," whose views, courage, and eloquence have made him the indispensable champion of liberty in our time. RRR

Sizzling

***Triple R* Tapes**

Listen in on a very private *Triple R* conference on the U.S. political scam, with Joe Sobran, Ron Paul, Michael Levin, Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn, Hans Hoppe, Jeffrey Tucker, Lew Rockwell, and five other giants. Includes our hottest discussion *ever* on Germanophobia. The handsomely boxed set of tapes is $99 postpaid, plus your promise not to share them with the media. Phone toll-free 800-325-7257.

PICKING FRIENDS IN THE CONSERVATIVE WARS

Paul Gottfried

Since the guns of November went off against Father Neuhaus and his "theocratic" band, a debate has been going on among paleos as to how to react to this breach in the "conservative movement." While it is not the first breach in that movement, contrary to what is suggested by Walter Berns in his disjointed observations in *Commentary* (February 1997), it is an important one nonetheless. War has broken out between factions in what was once a unified neoconservative camp, and it is natural that paleos show interest. At least one side in this conflict is raising paleo concerns, about judicial usurpation and the straying of the American republic; while the neocon side is responding by accusing those who ask unseemly questions of being "extremists."

Though much of this sounds like a repeat of the paleo-neocon wars of the eighties, in which neo-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cons brought left-liberal friends to beat up the real conservatives, some paleos have withheld their support from what is coming to be called the "Neuhaus faction." There are basically two reasons for this "a plague-on-both-their-houses" attitude, both summed up by Sam Francis in *Chronicles* (March 1997). One, some paleos still recall (and it was not long ago) when Father Neuhaus and his magazine *First Things* were raging against them. Back then Neuhaus was calling paleos right-wing "inhabitants of fever swamps" whom no decent conservative would wish to associate with.

Two, though Neuhaus and his magazine now denounce the "regime" and its war against Judeo-Christian morality, they nonetheless do not admit that our own political problems go back generations. These problems did not start yesterday, as Francis, Rockwell, and I have all noted in critical observations about the *First Things* interventions published in November. *Brown v. Board of Education* and the administrative centralization carried on by Woodrow Wilson, FDR, and LBJ have at least as much to do with making our regime "illegitimate" and unaccountable as anything that has since transpired.

Either the Neuhaus group must understand this and come around to the paleo view, or else it is futile, or so this argument goes, to try to build bridges. Francis contemptuously raises and answers the rhetorical question: "Where was Richard John Neuhaus when conservatives were peppering the countryside with billboards demanding the impeachment of Earl Warren. He was at the side of Dr. King, helping the fanatic destroy the fabric of constitutional government...." Furthermore, "their stumbling perception that something is wrong is welcome, but to tell the truth it's just decades too late."

Aspects of Francis's brief cry out for correction. The Christian tradition which Francis insists excludes rebellion to tyranny is not as unanimous on this particular point as we are led to believe. From the mid-sixteenth century on, as Lew Rockwell shows us in the March issue of *Triple R*, Catholic and Calvinist theologians were reaching for biblical and natural law arguments to justify tyrannicide. Nor is it the case that the *First Things* symposiasts object to laws which do not require them personally to participate in sinful acts. As one of the most incisive critics of the managerial state, Francis knows better. Whether by taxing, imposing federal behavioral guidelines for education, or requiring the sensitization of commercial establishments, the "regime" pushes all subjects into participating in its moral revolution.

Against this grudge one can cite the example of the primitive church, which grew by absorbing its onetime persecutors.

But what makes Francis's brief compelling to many paleos is the undeniable point that they are being asked to choose between figures who until now were largely indistinguishable enemies. Why should paleos take sides if their longtime assailants start to fight each other? Though Francis clearly leans toward "the neocons at *First Things* who are driving toward something close to paleoconservatism," he cannot quite bring himself to forgive his erstwhile foes, particularly when they persist in quoting Abolitionists and Martin Luther King. Against this grudge one can cite the example of the primitive church, which grew by absorbing its onetime persecutors. Such a practice not only shows a generous spirit but may be strategically necessary for a beleaguered religious or political group. In any case not all the *First Things* symposiasts have persecuted paleos. Most, like Russell Hittinger, Robert George, and Hadley Arkes, have had consistently good relations with those in our camp.

To this Francis and his followers would respond that they still have less in common with the Neuhausites than, say with the editors of *National Review*, who are right on immigration and other social issues. If alliances are to be built, they should take place with those who are closest to us ideologically. Thus Dr. Francis has explained to me his own principle of where allies are to be found.

Unfortunately, things don't work that way. Though we may agree more often with the political positions held by John O'Sullivan than Father Neuhaus, another more important question concerns character. Which of the two is more willing to fight for his beliefs and to support others who hold the same beliefs? On the basis of my acquaintance with both, the answer is clear. One is a mere survivor who borrows political themes from the Old Right and elsewhere, while keeping paleos at a distance from his magazine.

Indeed for years *National Review* has played the same ideological balancing act, while never entirely breaking from its neocon masters. Neuhaus, by contrast, is a man driven by his beliefs. Not all of them may be to our taste, but they have

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

been sincerely held and acted upon. And Neuhaus has taken this course without being calculating. Unlike O'Sullivan, he spoke and wrote to me even when he thought of me as being his enemy.

It is, furthermore, less important which "fanatic" Neuhaus cites than the action to which the offending figures are tied. Whatever we may think of the politics of Neuhaus's model Martin Luther King, King's tactics and engagements remain worthy of emulation. They did work in bringing about change and seem to be related to a quintessentially Protestant and American tradition of resisting perceived tyranny.

If courage which can be found in King counts in such matters, then there are few "movement conservatives" whose friendship Sam or I should be courting. Better to try one's luck among partial converts than among "conservative" careerists, even among those whose positions occasionally intersect with one's own. Neuhaus and his co-symposiasts represent a different sort. They are predominantly Cold War liberals moving in our direction and standing up for at least some of what we believe. Unlike the neocons, they have wandered too far from the liberal mainstream to enjoy journalistic support or to be in a position to swallow us up.

As for Francis's comment that they failed to oppose Earl Warren and his acts of judicial usurpation in the 1950s, most of the "theocons," to use the *New Republic* term, were too young to have taken such stands then. In any case, while they and we may differ about the precedents for the current judicial usurpation, both sides can agree on the illegitimate nature of our derailed regime. We therefore lose nothing but inflated pride by extending our friendship to this opposition of conscience. RRR

WHY LIBERALS WENT BANANAS OVER EBONICS

Michael Levin

By now everyone has heard about the efforts of the Oakland, California, School Board to insert black dialect into its public school classrooms. Black children were to be taught in their "native language" of ebonics ("ebony" + "phonics") as Hispanic children are taught in Spanish or Chinese children in Mandarin.

The underlying idea is that blacks are held back by having to learn academic material presented in standard English, for them essentially a foreign tongue. Teach history, science, and mathematics in a vernacular they understand, so the theory goes, and they will learn as readily as the best Asian students. The transition to "white" speech can itself be managed via instruction in the mother tongue: once black children have climbed the wall of ordinary English, they can kick away their ebon ladder.

This hokum invites strong language in reply. Is the Oakland School Board composed of morons? Take the Board's eyebrow-raising claim that ebonics is "genetic," especially remarkable given the hostility usually shown by educators to any suggestion that racial variation is related to genes.

What the Board may have had obscurely in mind is the use of "genetic" by which linguists describe affinities between languages with a common origin, and was trying to say, not very plausibly, that slum patois is an offshoot of African stems. Very likely, someone on the Oakland Board once took a linguistics course or read something on the subject, and muddled what he half-learned.

Or try to imagine the grotesqueness of a civics lesson in ebonics. "Now de President, he the Chief Executive. He be runnin' the country. [Missing and unconjugated verbs are said to be prominent features of ebonics.] Nothin' don' happen [so is the double negative] wifout he order it." We are also told that a raised voice and excited bodily movements are distinctive of this language, so perhaps teachers would also attend workshops in these skills.

The least coherent aspect of the Oakland proposal is the intended relation between ebonics and self-esteem. On one hand, its deployment is supposed to validate the speech patterns black children hear in their homes and neighborhoods, so that they no longer experience school as a put-down. Instead of being made to feel inferior for dropping "n"s and mispronouncing everyday words, they are to be told that these habits are perfectly acceptable.

But at the same time, since the EEOC has yet to target firms who expect their employees to speak standard English, even the Oakland Board knows that graduates speaking exclusively black English will be almost unemployable. The suggested compromise is to correct ebonic tendencies in black children without the hurt, pain, tears, dissing, racism, and mental genocide of implying that there is actually anything wrong with black speech.

But this compromise is impossible. You cannot attempt to extinguish

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

a behavior, or reward its avoidance, without conveying that there is something wrong with it. With whatever blarney the teacher tells a student not to say "axt," she has criticized how he speaks, and–if one insists on being hypersensitive–him. The only way to be nonjudgmental about black usage is for everyone to treat it as indistinguishable from white usage, a point we have not (so far) reached. Even in its own terms, "ebonics" makes no sense.

But you already knew all of this. The *New York Times*, the newsmagazines, the talk shows–all right-thinking organs of opinion–scrambled to intercept ebonics the instant it appeared on the radar. Clinton's Department of Education tut-tutted. Jesse Jackson railed against it. The *Village Voice*, as politically correct, race-obsessed, and anti-white as a publication can get, ran a cover story harshly mocking ebonics and blacks.

Ebonics was stomped so thoroughly it is hard not to think of it in the past tense. And that raises a puzzle, almost a paradox. Why did the media react as if ebonics expressed an idea they had never heard of? Why did every single liberal denounce the Oakland Board, when what it said it was going to do is precisely what liberals have been urging for decades?

After all, the standard liberal explanation of black academic shortcomings is bias. Teachers expect blacks to fail. Conventional subjects assume knowledge of white culture. Black children feel alienated in school environments without role models, anxious when asked to perform up to alien standards. Prominent among such hypotheses has been the proposal that black learning and communicative styles differ from white, the black approach being less "linear" and more "personal,"

Second-generation Chinese invariably pass the "telephone test"; you can't tell over the telephone that you are talking to one.

with an "approximative" approach to quantity. Liberals have insisted endlessly that blacks would do as well as whites if taught in a manner they found more congenial. So why, when Oakland sought to carry out these ideas, did liberals react as if someone had dropped his pants in front of the Queen of England?

The answer, I believe, is precisely that the Oakland Board was taking liberalism literally. Its plan was what scientists call a crucial experiment, an acid test of the liberal hypothesis, and, at the same time, a *reductio ad absurdum* of that same hypothesis.

Oakland made plain what liberals are actually saying, which is quite enough to show its absurdity. Their nostrums remain a little bit believable when put as airy generalities about black culture, the heritage of slavery, or street-smarts vs. book-smarts. But liberalism threatens to come apart in public when subject to a simple, real-world test such as the Oakland Board was inadvertently proposing. That is what set off the alarm bells.

Deep down, I suspect, the typical liberal realizes his ideas are rubbish. But he remains serene so long as he is not forced to face this fact too directly.

This dishonesty extends to a zeal to keep all eyes off real problems, which is why liberals constantly fuss about trifles. Consider how much ink was solemnly spilled on whether ebonics counts as a language. Who cares? Black speech is distinguished by certain sounds, words, and grammatical regularities. What to call them–a "language," a "dialect," or just bad English–is a purely verbal question on which absolutely nothing hinges.

Second-generation Chinese invariably pass the "telephone test"; you can't tell over the telephone that you are talking to one. So did the second generation of other immigrant groups. Yet black diction remains instantly recognizable. This failure to assimilate, this imperviousness to outside influence, may well reflect something distinctive. That is the aspect of ebonic problems that should be, but is not, discussed.

The whole look-say versus phonics debate may also be a cloak for liberal worries. In the traditional phonics method of teaching reading, the child learns to associate a sound with each letter, enabling him to "sound out" unfamiliar letter combinations. Having mastered a handful of symbols, he can then decode any word in a rich logosyllabic language like English.

The look-say method has the child memorize each word separately, as a unit, rather than analyze it into the elements that compose it. He learns to recognize "house" and "mouse," but not what they have in common. In other words, look-say treats words of English as if they were Chinese ideograms, losing all the advantages of compositionality. Why, then, do so many educators champion such an obviously inferior method?

The literature defending look-say does not advertise its–nonexistent–pedagogical virtues. Rather, it plays up the "self-esteem" gained by children who quickly learn hundreds of big words. And the look-say

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

child, having memorized so many words, is initially more impressive than phonics children still struggling with "Ranger Don." But this advantage is quickly lost as the phonics child overtakes him in fluency (unless, as often happens, the look-say child figures out phonics for himself).

My guess is that self-esteem retains its dominant role in the debate because it is a distractor. It draws attention away from those differences nobody wishes to talk about. Phonics requires thinking while look-say depends more heavily on rote memory. The gap in reading would be wider were reading taught correctly, so out of fear of "racism," reading is taught incorrectly–while nobody will admit that this is what is really going on.

Laughable ideas like ebonics and pernicious ones like look-say resemble neurotic symptoms, disguising deep-seated problems that cannot be faced openly. When the disguises work, liberals cling to them compulsively, hence liberal faith in look-say and other discredited notions. When the disguise becomes too transparent, the result is hysterical denial. That is why liberals went bananas over ebonics. RRR

THE RETURN OF THE CHINA LOBBY

Justin Raimondo

It was virtually inevitable that out-of-work Cold Warriors would fall back on Chinese Communism as the new bogeyman. The *Standard*, that reliable barometer of militarist chic, features a special issue on the Red-Yellow Peril.

For years labor unions and the left have been inveighing against China for the crime of providing quality goods at low prices. Now it's just like the old days of the Vietnam war: a grand reunion of Humphrey Democrats in their neoconservative incarnation and the heirs of George Meany, as Bill Kristol joins hands with the AFL-CIO in a new anti-Peking Popular Front.

The neocons won't be happy until they've started a shooting war with China.

The agenda of the anti-China left, painted over with a thin gloss of "human rights" rhetoric, is clear: the influx of cheap Chinese goods, especially textiles, imperils their base in the unions. Big Labor, whose political and financial base is rapidly shrinking, calls this the economic equivalent of Pearl Harbor–and they are hellbent on declaring a trade war.

The neocons, for their part, won't be happy until they have started a shooting war, and they've signed up some important allies. In a statement released on Feb. 28, four leaders of the religious right declared their support for trade sanctions against China: "Economic rights should not trump human rights," said the letter, signed by Gary Bauer, head of the Family Research Council; James Dobson, president of Focus on the Family; Don Wildmon, president of the American Family Association; and Richard Land, of the Southern Baptist Convention. The *New York Times* gleefully reports this as a "split in Republican ranks among social and economic conservatives."

Bauer attacks "realpolitik," counterposing an "idealism" he claims is inspired by Ronald Reagan but sounds more like Woodrow Wilson. He fulminates, in the *Standard*, against "China's leaders [who] have exported weapons and nuclear technology to Middle Eastern states that are either bent on terrorism or determined to develop an 'Islamic bomb.'" The truth is that only one nation in the region has nuclear weapons, although no one is supposed to talk about it, and that is Israel.

Bauer also claims that China "has been linked to international drug trafficking," and that this is yet another reason for the U.S. to abandon its policy of "appeasement and cowardice." But what about our policy of "appeasement and cowardice" toward the chief exporter of drugs into the United States, a country, right on our southern border, whose elected officials, police force, and even the commander of the country's anti-drug effort, are in the pay of the drug lords: what about Mexico?

The Bauer Doctrine of no trade with authoritarian governments that wink at the drug trade and "beat and torture" their own people means, at least, no trade with Mexico: applied consistently and across the board, it means trade sanctions against a good chunk of the Third World. Besides hurting American consumers, the chief irony of this doctrine is that it would prop up the dictators it aims to depose. For such sanctions are bound to provoke a nationalist reaction in target countries, strengthening popular support for repressive governments and isolating opponents of the regime.

I leave aside the delicate question of whether–under these rules–anyone

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

should trade with the U.S., which has warred against so many other countries, bombed so many civilians, committed so many crimes like Waco, and is the world's leading champion of tax-paid abortions.

Jesse Helms weighs in with the complaint that "China isn't buying American." Noting that "Belgium buys more U.S. goods than China does," Helms asks: "Who benefits from this state of affairs?" Obviously not the textile manufacturers of North Carolina. Helms also claims that Chinese entrepreneurs do not always live up to their contracts, and that the Chinese authorities are not overeager to enforce them: even if true, not all contracts are enforceable, and American companies that make risky overseas investments should not expect to be bailed out every time a deal goes awry.

What hypocrisy! The end of the Cold War has been a nightmare for the neocons.

The editors of the *Standard* are glad to give a platform to moral posturing and calls for a gunboat-diplomacy trade policy, but their own concerns are of a far different order: the great crime of the Chinese, in the neocons' eyes, is that they were lying when they said "they wanted nothing more than to join this new world order. Well, they don't. And it is increasingly clear that the policies of the Chinese regime are the leading threat to that peaceful order," says the *Standard*. China is not only out to replace the U.S. as the hegemon of East Asia, but, we are told, "experts agree" the Chinese are "in the long term" determined "to challenge America's position as the dominant power in the world." This is no ordinary "rogue nation," the editors of the *Standard* breathlessly announce, but a "rogue superpower."

But, wait a minute, what happened to the post-Cold War idea that the U.S. is the world's sole superpower? Up until now, the globalists have argued that, as the World's Only Superpower, global leadership has been thrust up on us, like Caesar beseeched by the Roman Senate to take the crown. Now, suddenly, there are two superpowers, one legitimate and the other a "rogue." (Rogue meaning, as always, a refusal to take State Department orders.)

Let these unnamed "experts," who conjure a new Yellow Peril, contemplate statistics cited by Congressman Christopher Cox (R-CA), in that same issue of the *Standard*: "Communist China's per capita GNP in dollars ranks below such emblems of Third World poverty as Lesotho, the Congo, Senegal, Bolivia, Guatemala, and Honduras." Is Lesotho writ large really "the leading threat" to the American people?

The editors of the *Standard* opine that "the dream of a world that would not require American moral and strategic leadership has been a pleasant one," but it is "time to wake up."

What hypocrisy! The end of the Cold War has been a nightmare for the neocons who, in their fervent internationalism, find themselves increasingly isolated on the right. Their strategic response has been the creation of a new China lobby. The old China lobby, backed by the Nationalist government on Taiwan, was instrumental in reversing the "isolationist" consensus on the right in the late forties and early fifties, and the *Standard* hopes it can play that role again. RRR

WACO– THE RULES OF ENGAGEMENT

A documentary directed by William Gazecki (165 minutes)

Reviewed by **Burton S. Blumert**

Almost three hours long, this meticulously crafted documentary film combines TV news clips, excerpts from the Congressional hearings on Waco, FBI and BATF film, and some poignant footage of David Koresh and other Branch Davidians, taped during their 51 days under siege.

We owe a great debt to Producer Dan Gifford and Director William Gazecki for this quality piece, which can keep the government crimes at Waco from slipping from public memory.

But the film does much more. It presents powerful new evidence that the FBI, not the Davidians, caused the fatal inferno at Waco. This dramatic moment in the documentary is provided by aerial film shot by an FBI surveillance aircraft 10,000 feet above the event using Forward Looking Infra-Red (FLIR).

FLIR, which looks like ordinary black and white film, actually measures heat not light. It clearly reveals that the FBI caused the fire, which destroyed the building and was responsible for most of the deaths. We actually see the two grenades launched from a Bradley tank explode into flames.

Even more horrifying is the revelation that FBI gunmen were stationed outside the only exit from the burning building. As the hapless

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

victims flee the conflagration, they are gunned down. As the heat grows more intense, the FBI shooters are driven back, but the FLIR film shows them continuing their murderous fire as they retreat.

Home videos generally don't retain an audience's attention, but Gazecki skillfully uses them to show an extremely sympathetic David Koresh. The media's successful effort to marginalize Koresh and the Davidians is completely undermined. These gentle, articulate people are shown as they really were, and we are reminded that the Branch Davidians lived peacefully at these facilities for over 60 years. Many older members of the church spent their entire lives on the property. We also witness the horror of the local sheriff and fire fighters as their peaceful neighbors are ruthlessly murdered.

The FBI: guilty of murder at Waco.

In another sequence, the entire Congressional investigating committee and staff hover about monitors, watching the devastating FLIR evidence. We are assured by the narrator that the tapes they're watching are superior in detail to what we see in the film. Every Congressman knew at that instant that no further hearings were needed, and that the Justice Department should be issuing warrants and making arrests. In other words, the entire investigation was a fraud.

In a closing scene, the camera pans the rubble that once housed the gentle Davidians. The bulldozers have done their work and on a solitary pole the BATF raises its flag.

If this magnificent film could be seen by all Americans, it could crack the hard shell of corruption that protects our out-of-control police agencies. Sadly, this is not to be. It is now only showing at the Roxie in San Francisco. This decrepit little arthouse is located in the Mission District. If you wanted to visit Central America, but misplaced your passport, 16th Avenue and Valencia would serve.

Waco–The Rules of Engagement was co-winner of the audience award at Robert Redford's Sundance film festival in January 1997. As you might guess from that venue, the makers are liberals, and they emphatically do not wish to be associated with any "right-wing conspiracy theories." Who would harbor any of those? The FLIR film was offered to all the major media, including "60 Minutes," and no one was interested. The film has also been refused commercial distribution. RRR

NEOCON NATIONAL SOCIALISM

Llewellyn H. Rockwell, Jr.

Washington pundits are singing the blues about the sad, sad state of the union. Gone are the good old days of national unity, when people respected our leaders, and national politics really meant something. Now, everyone thumbs his nose at the government

Dear *Triple R:*
Start sending me (or renew) your newsletter:
❑ $49 for 1-year; ❑ $98 for 2-years; ❑ $147 for 3-years.
❑ Enclosed is my tax-deductible contribution (made out to CLS).
❑ Send information to the friends I've listed on a separate sheet.

Credit card number: _____

Signature: _____ Exp. Date _____

Or phone 1-800-325-7257 for VISA, Amex, or MasterCard charges.

Name _____

Street _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Triple R, Center for Libertarian Studies, P.O. Box 4091, Burlingame, CA 94011

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and cynicism tears at the national soul.

It's all the worse, say the sad sacks, that the White House is embroiled in financial scandal, the Congress is embroiled in nothing, the military's shining image is soiled, and the fortunes of just about every political big shot are in decline. For Heaven's sake, even Al Gore is taking it on the chin. Will this madness ever stop?

Let's hope not. Big government has gotten a free ride for too long. If revelations of corruption and cover-up destroy what remains of America's love affair with the central state, that's all to the good.

Real Americans have every reason to cheer, and not only because the Clintons are in trouble. All the scandals help refute the idea that the central state is our help and our salvation. The goings-on send the message that big brother simply can't be trusted.

There are other side benefits. A government mired in recriminations can't push through huge, socialistic pieces of legislation. Even better, the end of the central state's good repute also means the end of its moral legitimacy and, perhaps eventually, its hegemony over American life.

A government that no one respects can't poison the intellectual culture. It can't start pointless foreign adventures. It can't be vigilant in collecting taxes. Its every move is under suspicion. It's immobilized. That's precisely what every lover of liberty has hoped for since Woodrow Wilson overthrew the classical ideal of the free society.

But instead of celebrating, neoconservative pundits are bemoaning these trends as the "end of greatness," to use David Brooks's phrase. Brooks's lengthy lament in the *Weekly Standard* may be the darkest dirge ever to appear in the conservative media. His essay provides a rare glimpse into the heart of the neocon soul.

Brooks decries the rise of anti-government feelings, but points to something even more ominous. "Americans have discarded their pursuit of national greatness in just about every particular." We have no "national vision," no "clear sense of what America is for, what we, as a nation, should achieve with all our wealth."

It gets worse, in Brooks's mind. We are "besotted with localism" and the "devolution of power." The "national morale" has drained away because there's no war or moon shot. Government isn't impressing us any more.

The answer? The central state must undertake a "national mission," set the "national tone," and show that "American purpose can only find its vision in Washington." What mission? "It almost doesn't matter what great task government sets for itself," for "energetic government is good for its own sake."

Neither nationalism nor socialism has anything to do with the American dream.

Yikes! What can we say about a political philosophy that seeks government programs for their own sake? What can we say about the view that the U.S. government is the Rousseauian manifestation of the general will or the Hegelian embodiment of the national soul?

There's a phrase for the ideology that underlies Brooks's article: national socialism. "National," because it attaches sacramental significance to the fact that we're all hung out to dry by the same tax police, and "socialism" because it wants the government to commandeer even more resources from the private sector to erect wasteful and repulsive monuments to itself.

Is our political climate destroying national myths, as Brooks worries? You bet, and many need to be destroyed. Among them is the idea that the robber state is our friend, and that either nationalism or socialism has anything to do with the American dream.

The real right seeks radically different goals: self-governing families and communities, freedom of association, contract, and trade, the inviolability of property, and an end to empire. The summary word is liberty. It took a millennium to secure this ideal, and one gruesome century to demolish the hopes it had inspired.

True liberty has nothing to do with "national greatness," one of the many excuses our Washington masters have used to loot us. "Greatness" of this sort has squandered trillions in wealth, and killed millions in useless wars. "Greatness" comes at the expense of our families, local cultures, state rights, religious liberty, and property rights. "Greatness" is another word for presidential despotism from Lincoln to Clinton.

The framers sought freedom *from* this kind of greatness. That's why the recent incapacitation of big government, far from worrying us, should revive all our hopes. It keeps national socialism–an ideal beloved by the official left and the official right–from finally overthrowing the ideal of freedom. RRR

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED